FELLOWSHIP

January 1946 Vol. 12—No. 1

A New Year — A New Era

By A. J. MUSTE

•

Far Eastern Challenge

By STUART GELDER

•

Non-violence Is Not Enough

By ANDRÉ TROCMÉ

•

Thoughts In Prison

By FIVE CO's

•

Why Labor Trouble Now?

By GEORGE M. HOUSER

"War breeds vengeance. Vengeance breeds hatred. Hatred breeds revenge. Revenge breeds war. The circle must be broken if peace is ever to come either to Europe or to any other part of the world. The whole weight of the United States must be thrown upon the side of making a peace, not of revenge, but of justice and righteousness."

COL. FRANK KNOX,
Secretary of the Navy,
Armistice Day, 1941.

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

I

THE YEAR 1945 will claim a big place on the pages of history. This one short twelve-month period has witnessed, among many other events, the following:

The collapse of Germany after six years of terrific battle, and the end of the war in the West.

The surrender of Japan, and the end of the war in the Far East.

The lynching of Mussolini, the death of Roosevelt, and the suicide of Hitler.

The inauguration of the DeGaulle Government in France, the trial and imprisonment of Petain, the trial and execution of Laval, and the election of a Constituent Assembly to lay the foundations of the Fourth Republic.

The defeat of Winston Churchill, and the advent of the Labor Government in Britain.

The San Francisco Conference and the establishment of the United Nations Organization.

The Potsdam Conference, and the partition of Germany.

The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

Of all these events, incomparably the most important is the atomic bomb. The collapse of Germany, as of Japan, is only the latest instance of the fall of empires. The deaths of Mussolini and of Hitler are but horror versions of what happened to Napoleon, and the passing of Roosevelt but a duplication of the passing of William Pitt. DeGaulle and the Fourth Republic are recapitulating the story of Gambetta and the Third Republic. The stepping down of Churchill and the stepping up of Clement Attlee have made no difference at all, at least in foreign affairs. The San Francisco and Potsdam Conferences were—*conferences*. But the atomic bomb . . * * ! ?

Not since the discovery of fire has there been so momentous an event. Splitting the atom has opened up a new age as definitely as, and much more tremendously than, the discovery of steam or electricity. Not all the changes since the first wheel turned on the first ox-cart can equal the changes latent in that blinding flash over Hiroshima. Norman Cousins declares that the atomic bomb has made man obsolete. It has certainly made everything in our civilization obsolete. The Day of Judgment, long foreseen and long foretold, has, to our own amazement, actually arrived.

II

Can the new year, 1946, contain anything comparable to this? Yes, an event still greater than the bomb itself. The decision, namely, as to what is going to be done with the bomb!

The choice before us is simple. On the one hand, we can drift along, talking much and doing little. In this case the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, in complacent possession of the bomb, will be suspiciously eyed by Russia and the other nations until they too discover its secret. This means a full-fledged armament race in the fearful terms of atomic energy, with suspicion, jealousy, resentment, and cruel fear eating away like cancers at any healthy organism of international good will that may still be left to us. What armament races have done before, this latest race will do again—precipitating a war. The awful nature of the atomic weapon now available will not deter the catastrophe, or even delay it for a single moment. Men do not hesitate to use instruments, however terrible, which they think will destroy their enemies *first!* So inaction —or half-hearted, fumbling action— means war, and war this time means the end.

On the other hand, in the face of this atomic horror, we can act as statesmen who know the danger and are resolved to meet and master it. In this case, we will proceed: (1) to organize a world government armed with sovereign authority—as backed by the public opinion of mankind to ban the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes; and (2) to find slowly but surely, under the guidance of scientists united in a common enterprise, the means of using this energy for the service of man's creative and constructive purposes. Nothing less than a world government can meet the exigency of the bomb. This bomb unites us in the prospect of death; we must now unite ourselves in the promise of life. Whether we will or no, for better or worse, we are living in "one world."

Our choice between these alternatives will be the great event of 1946. And it will be the one greatest event in the history of the world. This year will determine the issue. It is later than we think! Already it has been said, by one of the physicists who made the bomb, that the final secret will be known generally in another six months. If a world conference to establish a world government is not at work by that time, the race of atomic armaments will be on, and the end of all things in sight.

H. G. Wells has declared that this end is a matter only of "a few weeks, or months." I am unwilling to accept such dire pessimism. Not yet am I ready to surrender to defeatism. The signs at present are forbidding. Civil war is loose in China. Imperialism is rampant in Indonesia. Isolationism is creeping back into the chancelleries of nations and the souls of men. A world government, even in the face of the atomic bomb, is an unlikely prospect. The cause, however, is not yet lost and must not be abandoned in any light feeling of despair.

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But if I challenge Mr. Wells's prophecy, I must assent to his timing. It's "a few weeks, or months" only that are left to us to decide as to whether Armageddon is to stand at our door. We have reached, in other words, the turning point of destiny. This new year, 1946, will mark the end of humanity— or the beginning of such a period of peace, prosperity and power as history has never known and man can not yet even imagine. It will be the last year, or the first year, of an era!

Fellowship Price Increased

Beginning with this issue, the price of FELLOWSHIP is increased to 20 cents per copy, $2.00 per year. The increase is made necessary by steadily rising printing costs and other expenses during the past few years. FOR members should remember that from now on, therefore, the first $2.00 of their annual contributions will automatically be applied in payment of their subscriptions. Gifts above that amount support the on-going program of the FOR at home and abroad.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

January 1946 Vol. 12—No. 1

A New Year—A New Era

By A. J. MUSTE

IN THE LIGHT OF EVENTS which have transpired in recent months, and of contemporary developments, the pacifist position is the only one which, from the political and the moral, the practical and the theoretical viewpoints, has any validity as this new year begins. If there are theologians who are still reluctant to accept that conclusion, the atomic scientists have arrayed themselves in the robes of Isaiah and John the Baptist and are proclaiming it from the housetops, and leaders of the Big Powers are putting it into state documents like the Truman-Attlee-King memorandum though their actions still to a large degree contradict their professions.

To illustrate, we have had a demonstration of what might be called the Logic of Power—material power, military might. No nation has ever possessed such power as the United States at this moment. We stand undisputed victors in the greatest war in history. Our industrial equipment and our military establishment are of fabulous proportions. And we have the Atomic Bomb. Surely, we are now secure at last? The veriest child knows that we are not—that in the moment of our power and victory we are utterly insecure and weak. Our actions demonstrate what we feel. We are engaged in feverish discussions of preparations for the next war. We are building a stock pile of atomic bombs. Our political and military leaders are demanding that we build huge conscript reserve forces.

By our own inventions—radar, the bomb and the rest—we have wiped out frontiers, our own and all others. By holding on to the atomic bomb for ourselves and as long as we hold onto it, we force other nations into an atomic armament race. As long as these bombs exist at all, in no matter whose hands, there is no security for any one anywhere. Despite our strength, we have no assurance that we can win even in a technical military sense the war in which an atomic armament race must eventuate. Some little nation might win. If it comes to man-power to conscript, Russia, China, India have much more than the United States. Even if we "win," we could only be "victors in hell," the hell created by our own mad attempt to achieve safety and peace by material power and military might.

In other words, in a political and military sense we stand where Germany stood in 1939 as a result of the advances in armament which she had achieved, where every nation in all history which has achieved preponderant military might has stood: we have introduced a profound tension into international relations; we are suspected and feared, and we are ourselves suspicious and afraid; presently we shall be hated, if we do not reverse our course, and we shall be destroyed and all our pomp of yesterday be one with Nineveh and Tyre.

We have had a demonstration also of what might be called the Logic of the Atrocious Means. We set out to defend and extend democracy and peace by means of war. We were stirred by atrocities against the Jews, and Chinese and others. Surely these things must be stopped, if not avenged. And how could you stop mad dogs and hyenas except by the means of modern scientific warfare, atrocious as that admittedly was?

Where has it taken us? We who preached day in and day out—and still do—against atrocities, turned thousands upon thousands of Japanese into blackened corpses with flame throwers. It was we and our allies who according to the President of the International Red Cross killed two hundred and fifty thousand people, mostly civilians, in one night in Dresden. It was we—United States bombers—who burned a hundred thousand people to death in one night in Tokyo.

But that was not enough. We dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A few days later we dropped a bigger and better one on Nagasaki.

There was no clear "military necessity" to "justify" these crowning atrocities. There is good reason to think that peace with Japan might have been made months before, but it did not suit Russian designs or our own. However that may be, at the time the bombs were dropped, negotiations were under way, Japanese power had been crushed. According to such authorities as General LeMay, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of State, the war would have been over in a week anyway. Discount all that and still there is no scintilla of justification for the refusal of the plea of the scientists, who had made the

diabolical instrument, that it should be demonstrated on some uninhabited Japanese island before being unloosed on hundreds of thousands of babies, women, and helpless old people. What ground have we left ourselves to protest against any atrocities of atomic warfare in the future? Thus it fell upon this "Christian" nation, incessantly declaiming against atrocity-mongers, to perpetrate the ultimate, atomic atrocity—needlessly—and so to remove all restraint upon atrocity. That is the Logic of the Atrocious Means. With fatal precision the means in war become more destructive both of physical life and of moral standards and spiritual values.

In any event the nations are now confronted with the stark physical fact that war has taken on an entirely new dimension; it is henceforth atomic war. It has to be gotten rid of or Western civilization will perish, the whole of mankind will enter an era of apocalyptic horrors, and even the survival of the human race on this planet may be in jeopardy.

All this has obviously a most important bearing on the responsibility, the opportunity, and the strategy of the pacifist forces in this country. Space permits us to comment on only two aspects. *First, the atomic armament race must be stopped.* In a real sense, so far as the politico-economic sphere is concerned, nothing else matters in comparison. If we do not stop the atomic armament race, we descend into barbarism or a common tomb. If we do stop it, an era of unexampled and unimaginable advance may be before us.

The decisions which take us up one road or the other are being made each day. The issue will probably be decided within the next five years or less. There is a terrible urgency about the situation. There must be a concentration in program and work to match it. This implies unification of pacifist forces. If the onset of war in 1939 and 1941 brought us together, there is far more compelling reason why the differences which may have emerged during the war should not be permitted to interfere with an all-out effort to avert the onset of total, atomic war.

Furthermore, the non-pacifist masses in the unions, the farm organizations, the business world, the schools, the churches, have to be drawn into the struggle to end war. The same strategy that we have been using to align them in opposition to peacetime conscription must be employed, but more extensively and with greater intensity.

Secondly, though we must thus take part in a political effort which enlists non-pacifists, we must at the same time and with no less energy devote ourselves to the conversion of thousands upon thousands to pacifism and the pacifist way of life.

In the first place, as experience has repeatedly demonstrated, unless there is a nucleus of men and women and youth who are absolutely committed and who will not compromise, to provide initiative and inspiration, no popular movement against atomic war will get under way or be sustained under pressure.

In the second place, even a very powerful "No More War" movement will not be enough. There will have to be a substantial minority of people who—no matter what comes—will refuse to be cajoled or tricked or conscripted into any participation in atomic war or preparation therefor. A substantial minority of uncompromising conscientious objectors. Every other kind of opposition will break down when the heat is on; the political and military leaders know it and act accordingly. When they are confronted with a sufficiently large minority of unyielding conscientious objectors, they will find a way to get rid of war.

Most important of all, we have to become evangelists for pacifism because, as has so often been said, the malady of our age is, in the last analysis, a spiritual one. Men have to be able to believe in another kind of power than that of violence and war.

Another Kind of Power

There is another kind of power and in unexpected quarters, now that material power in its ultimate form is at our command, it is recognized what that other kind of power is. It is "the individual conscience against the atomic bomb," as that *Life* editorial put it. It is the power of conscience, *i.e.,* of the spirit. What shall we set over against the bomb, the atom, the vast physical universe? God, its Creator, and man made in His image. The human spirit which says: "No, I will not make atomic bombs; I will not use them; I will not take part in atomic war; I will not engage in any violence against my fellow-man." Human beings who say in the words of Wilfred Owen's great poem: "Better break ranks . . . miss we the march of this retreating world into vain citadels that are not walled."

And why "break ranks," say *No* to violence? There is really no answer except that men are children of God, are brothers one to another. Therefore, none shall make them afraid. None shall have power against them. The atomic bomb is the product of men's conformity to the mass-will, their enslavement to the state, their fear, their hate. Let them surrender these and the bomb will disintegrate in their hands. "The meek, the Terrible meek, shall inherit the earth." Certainly it is now obvious that none else can or will, least of all men armed with the atomic bomb!

We have to become evangelists of pacifism then. And I mean that each of us must become an evangelist, recruiting for the Fellowship. That follows from the very nature of our philosophy. Somebody else cannot be a CO for you. Neither can you leave it to another to win your brother. If indeed the new life is yours, you will not be able to refrain from evangelism. A movement, furthermore, is on the way to the cemetery when recruiting becomes a job for "professionals." There is no such thing as "the Fellowship" which can be held responsible for what you, and you, and all of us have to do.

We have to proclaim the good news: "You do not have to go along, my brother. You can break ranks, step out of the death march. You individually, I mean; not the other fellow, the gang. Regardless of what anyone else does, you can make an agreement with God and conscience and have done with the diabolical business of war and conscription. And when you do, your soul will at once be free to grow, to love, to build, to extend your hand to your fellows, even to your enemy. And human beings bound together in truth and love are adequate to control the forces and solve the problems of the atomic age."

Men will not believe this message of the power of conscience, of spirit, of love, unless we who preach it know it in our bones, practice it, and live it. Let each of us, as the new year begins, in silence and penitence face the awful implications of that statement.

Far Eastern Challenge

By STUART GELDER*

I WAS PRIVILEGED from 1943-45 to represent the *News Chronicle* as War Correspondent and Special Correspondent in China, Burma and India. I think, perhaps, I was able to see more of the war than any other journalist, my country stretching from the West coast of India to Japan, Australia, Java and Ceylon. It fell to my lot to be the first Englishman to take part in a bombing operation on the Japanese mainland, which was also the longest ever flown—from India, via China and back by super-Fortress, a distance of more than 7,500 miles. I accompanied the troops in some of the more uncomfortable parts of Burma, across into China with the first convoy over the Burma Road after having been in three times the hard way—over the Himalayan "hump"—took part in naval and air attacks in the Indian Ocean, off the Burma coast, and, finally, finished "my war" inside the walls of Mandalay.

But one part of war is much like another. My outstanding impression of it was dust, discomfort, occasional hunger, frequent thirst and boredom—occasionally fright. But my experiences on the fighting fronts—land, sea and air—were not unique. What was unique about my journey was that in the middle of it I was able to meet and establish warm personal friendship with one of the most unique persons in the world—Mr. Gandhi.

Sometimes I asked myself which was the greater strain—reporting the physical fight of the Burma-Chinese war, or the political fight of India.

I was often inclined to think that it was more restful among the guns, the flak, the bugs, and the germs, than among 450,000,000 people who did not like me because I was an Englishman.

The other day I was asked by a friend: "What is India like?" I replied: "It is a hot, dirty, unhappy country which we have held in trust for more than 200 years, and for which the inhabitants do not show the slightest gratitude; on the contrary, they are under the impression that we have done them considerable injury."

That is not a scholarly, not a complete summary of the position, but roughly it is a true one. I believe that we shall have to quit India simply because the people of India do not like us to be there. You will remember that when St. Joan, in Mr. Shaw's play, was discussing the English occupation of her country, she expressed the opinion that they should go back to England because God did not intend them to live in France. This really is the position of Mr. Gandhi.

All sorts of reasons may be produced for our staying in India, and it has been protested—not to the satisfaction of the Indians—that we have done some good. I would not argue myself that we have done no good.

When I asked Mr. Gandhi why he was insistent that the British should quit, he gave me roughly the answer that St. Joan gave to the English. Perhaps you can think of a retort to it. I have tried in many a conversation with the Mahatma, but have completely failed. It is no use convincing ourselves that we are good rulers and trustees, if we cannot convince the Indians that we are; and we have quite plainly failed in this.

Mr. Gandhi told me last year that, in his opinion, the peace of the world depended upon the freedom of India. What did he mean by that? Simply, I think, that the peace of the world depends on all peoples being free, and that while 450,000,000 are subject to foreign rule there is a precedent for other nations subjecting smaller peoples to theirs.

The question now is not whether we shall leave India—that is a certainty—but when. If we leave as we left Ireland, we shall leave behind us a bitterness which may take a century or more to dilute. If we now grasp our opportunity and entrust the Indian people with self-rule, I believe that we shall by this act ensure their friendship.

The Hindu-Moslem Question

There is a Hindu-Moslem question, but before we discuss its complexities we should be perfectly sure in our minds that we are not glad that there is a Hindu-Moslem question, because, whenever the Indians ask for freedom, we always reply that it is this problem which prevents us giving it to them.

Supposing that Hitler had won this war, and after an occupation of 200 years we asked the Germans for our freedom, and they replied, you will first have to agree on a national religion; on the kind of parliament with which you will govern yourselves. You may say that this would be easy, but would it be so easy if, during the 200 years' occupation, the Germans had introduced separate electorates in Britain by which the Church of England people could vote only for Church of England candidates, Presbyterians for Presbyterians, Catholics for Catholics, Quakers for Quakers, and so on?

Because that is what, in effect, we did in India. It was the British who introduced separate electorates into that country, by which Moslems could vote only for Moslems, Hindus only for Hindus. Now, having taught them disunity, we tell them it is a barrier to their freedom. This is not the complete story, but it is a story that any Indian will tell you when you discuss the question with him.

I am not a professing Christian in the sense that I belong to any orthodoxy, and perhaps this is fortunate, because it was so much easier for me to see and understand a little the Hindu and Moslem points of view. It did not seem to me that, except in isolated places, Christian churches have made any impression upon the unhappiness of India. Our clergy have not been outstanding or notorious for their protests against the subjection of 450,000,000 people to alien rule; our Lords Spiritual have not been noted in the debates of the Upper Chamber for the fierceness of their Christian protest against the appalling poverty and sickness of our Indian "charges."

One of the few Christians who has behaved as a Christian is Verrier Elwin, who lives among the tribal Gonds

* War correspondent for the London *News Chronicle* from 1943 to 1945 in India, China, and Burma. This article reprinted by permission from *The Christian Pacifist*, the monthly magazine of the British FOR.

and has married one of them. But he is not popular among our more orthodox friends.

Challenge to Christians

I have been asked in this short message to address a word to a part of the Christian community in Britain. I would say to you, ask yourself this question: Are we really governing India for the good of the Indian people, or are we governing it for the profit and advantage we get out of it? If you are compelled to answer, as I feel you will be, that we govern it for the advantage and profit we get out of it, then I suggest that as Christians you have not a leg to stand on if you oppose Indian freedom. If this is your answer, it must be your plain duty as a Christian to advocate the complete and immediate freedom of the Indian from your rule.

I have met few Englishmen who have not a deep sense of justice, who have not a fairly highly developed social conscience, who are not, generally speaking, at least near-Christian in their everyday behavior. How is it then, that in the Far East, not only in India, but in China and Burma, wherever one time or another we have subjected colored peoples to our rule or influence, we are so frequently disliked, where we are not actively detested?

We, of all people, should know the answer to this. We now have to recognize the fact that the English conception of liberty, which has grown and developed through centuries, has grown and been developed much more rapidly in the backward areas of the world. This war has greatly accelerated the process. Broadcasting the aims of the Atlantic Charter, the high sentiments expressed by Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Truman, Attlee and the rest, have not gone unheeded in jungle or desert. On the contrary they have been most firmly believed. The great statesmen of the world did not distinguish between black or white, Moslem or Hindu, Christian or Pagan in their declarations of liberty for all. If we now introduce distinction in India, Burma, and wherever we have domination over colored people, we shall be regarded as the hypocrites we undoubtedly shall be.

It is going to cost us (America as well) a great deal to give that liberty to these peoples. We have been enriched at their expense, we have been helped to greatness by their labor. It has been said by economists that if we lose their wealth, our standard of life will fall.

It seems to me that our choice is clear. We can either attempt to keep what we hold against all comers—which means certain and more dreadful war—or we can agree to share the wealth of the world between all peoples at some cost to ourselves.

This seems to be the crux of the Asiatic problem. It is certainly a challenge to the Christian churches. In this short piece I cannot go into detailed argument. I have left many gaps, and thereby, perhaps, left myself open to legitimate criticism. I believe the principal arguments which I have put forward are sound. They are based on personal and some bitter experience.

Non-violence Is Not Enough

By ANDRÉ TROCMÉ†

THE TERM "TECHNIQUE" when applied to things of the spirit does not satisfy me. This word implies a factory or laboratory method or instrument, by means of which a particular result may be achieved. To speak of a technique of non-violence suggests that it is possible to create peace, to engineer good fellowship among men, and even to change the wicked, merely by showering kindness, patience, and non-violence upon them, as one would pour water on a fire. "Technique" belongs to the realm of science, of well defined things linked together by cause and effect. But one does not "turn on" good by pushing the button "charity."

Years ago Jesus came filled with charity and yet he brought upon his head anger, hatred, and death. If God had not changed the frightful evil of the cross into good, humanity would be in hopeless, irretrievable despair. God and God alone can bring victory out of our failures. Only God overcomes evil.

So perhaps we should speak less about the "technique" of non-violence, and more about the freedom of God, who triumphs over the fatality of a world in which love for centuries has been jeered at by lies and crime.

Daniel Trocmé* was not a soldier. He did not fight Nazism with arms, hardly with words. Far from it. A short time before being arrested he had delivered such enthusiastic lectures on Italy and Germany, which he knew well, and had shown such sympathy for these nations that it had been rumored that he was pro-nazi! And yet *he* was the target of the Gestapo. It was he whom they feared, deported, killed, because for the wicked the great enemy is not the man filled with violence and hatred, but the man filled with the spirit of Christ. The spirit of Jesus has the power to infuriate a man who "hates the light" because the presence of those who bear it serves to expose the ugliness in his own life. So, after working underground on the V1 and V2 for the Germans at the terrible camp of Dora, Daniel Trocmé was shipped in a "transport train" to the camp of Majdanek, in Poland, where they probably put him to death.

If non-violence is nothing but a "technique" then it did not work in this case, for the Gestapo certainly did not respond to the boundless love which motivated Daniel Trocmé to give up his comfortable position in life to act as father to twenty refugee children and thirty-five university students at LeChambon. But our faith in the invisible, and our assurance of the resurrection, allows us to maintain that

† Pastor at LeChambon-sur-Lignon in France. With Edouard Theis, another leading member of the French F.O.R., he conducted the school for refugees at LeChambon which was supported during the war by the gifts of the American F.O.R. He was imprisoned for a time and for several months was in hiding with Edouard Theis in the mountains because of his activities on behalf of refugees, refusal to observe the Vichy anti-Semitic laws, and other expressions of pacifism in action.

* Daniel Trocmé, cousin of André Trocmé, and head of two homes for Jewish students in LeChambon, France. Arrested by the Gestapo and died in an extermination camp.

the absurdity of his death, the seeming uselessness of this martyrdom, is but the visible manifestation of the cross on earth. But in another field—in the field of spiritual truth which we sense, which we sometimes almost touch—Daniel's death has been a victory over hatred, over war, over prejudice and massacres. On this earth it may not actually fall under the senses, but we feel it, and he who is conscious of it knows that he stands on the threshold of a door wide open unto tomorrow, unto the kingdom of God.

As a matter of fact, non-violence in itself can accomplish little. A cushion, for example, is non-violent: it does not return the punch given to it. And yet a cushion is nothing, as is the coward who receives passively the blows dealt to him. The coward may even serve the purposes of the wicked. Hitler took advantage, first in Germany and later in Europe, of the terror he spread in the hearts of cowards and helpless people. He fed on the substance of the "cushions" which peopled the world. He was stopped only by the true resistants: on the one hand, the non-violent resisters who at the risk of their lives were able to say "no" without trembling and without hatred; and on the other hand, by the violent who resisted by the use of arms.

Hitler thus was destroyed by the power of love and sacrifice on the part of those who were not deceived by him—both pacifists and non-pacifists. A soldier may fight in a battle, of course, without any feeling of either sacrifice or love, simply as a matter of obeying commands. But no one compels the conscientious objector. He is not drafted by men. On the contrary, he goes against the usual tide, and in order to render his act significant, in order to prevent it from being harmful, it is essential that he be animated with love, that he throw himself into the fight against evil, knowing full well that he may possibly lose his life—that he most probably will lose his reputation and his friends.

Non-violence Without Love Is Nothing

Non-violence motivated by love can become a tremendous positive and constructive adventure. The Finnish woman, Mathilda Wrede, one of the founders of the Fellowship, did not choose to live as a lady of the manor. She preferred neither whites nor reds during the revolution, but she loved them both; and she spent her whole life serving the most degraded of men—the criminals in prisons.

The non-violent knows that he has done nothing when he has simply said "no," or when he has served a prison sentence; he knows that this is "nothing," as Saint Paul declares in the 13th chapter of Corinthians; but if his life in prison, or out of it, is the life of service and sacrifice for his brothers, then his attitude becomes constructive.

One might ask of what use it was for the two pastors of LeChambon to go to a concentration camp. But in camp, with the help of their lay comrades, they were able to sing hymns, teach Christ by word, in discussion groups, and by their example in refusing to swear allegiance to Petain, in this manner showing to their 450 communistic comrades that the Christians too sometimes believe in the word taught by their Master.

One might also ask what was the use of Philippe Vernier's going to prison. Thousands of others go to prison, but Philippe Vernier sang hymns so joyfully loud that his warden had to request him to stop. Such irrepressible faith inevitably reaches the hearts of one's fellow men.

Strangely enough, however, it is rarely those we aim to convince who are transformed. We may pray and earnestly desire the conversion of a culprit without bringing any result. But someone else will come—from a very different horizon perhaps, a man to whom we had given no thought, and whom we may not even know—and he will be convinced and filled with enthusiasm. He too will enter the school of the Prince of Peace. In this manner Jesus, after his death, conquered Paul, who had not been one of the initial twelve apostles. Yet Paul alone did more work than the twelve original apostles. Paul was the unexpected fruit of Jesus' death and of Stephen's. Similarly the conscientious objectors in England and in the United States will have influenced, in some mysterious way, Germans they never saw. God will multiply a hundredfold the seed they have sown with tears; and the CPS man must not eat his heart away with the thought of his seeming uselessness. If his heart has been and still is filled with love for everyone—a love ready to act and to serve—fruits will grow, and he will see them, even though it takes a long time!

The War of the Non-violents Begins Now

The war of the non-violents begins now: the Quakers of the British and American Service Committees, the Red Cross workers, the members of Pierre Cérésole's* "Service Civil," the young people who forego more advantageous positions in order to offer their services for the reconstruction of Europe and the world, these are the soldiers of Christ. Pierre Cérésole typified them. He never ceased to build: in France, in Switzerland, in England, in India. Europe's ruins can best be built up by an army of volunteers. Pacifists have no right to let themselves feel tired from a war which others fought, even though the normal course of life may have been as seriously disrupted for them as for the soldiers. Rather, they must go still further by completing the "no" of non-violent resistance with the "yes" of the love of God.

College Cévenol in LeChambon attempts something of this kind. It is a school without buildings or money or backers, but with a marvelous faculty of Christian teachers, many of whom gave up more lucrative positions in government schools in order to try real education as they understood it.

The problems are extremely difficult: problems of living quarters, of classroom space, problems of food, individual problems. Many children are sent to the school because they have been twisted by the war and their parents no longer know how to deal with them: they show the tragic effects of too early freedom and adventurous living—when they have known hunger, have barely escaped death, or have benefited by the easy profits of the black markets. And LeChambon almost always succeeds with these children. Every week the teachers meet, discuss each child's problems, and pray. The older students take a great interest in winning them over, in carrying them along the generous stream that carries the school. After a few weeks, the newcomers understand—their hearts, hard-shut and precociously hardened, soften in the warmth of the love of God.

Similar centers already exist in other countries, or can be created. Europe needs food and clothing, but above all, it

* First secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1919, founder of International Voluntary Service for Peace, and *Service Civil International.*

needs witnesses of the love of God. Twice in my life, in the company of my Christian brother, Edouard Theis, I have had occasion to bear this testimony in the prison camps: among the French communists in 1943, and among the Germans in 1944. Totally different atmospheres existed in the two situations. The communists feared religion, seeing it only as hypocrisy and an opiate meant to lull the vigilance of the people. They showed, however, an open mind, a perfect sincerity, and a growing sympathy for these Christians who discussed the Gospels with them on a footing of equality. We may not have "converted" any communists, but we saw in their faces foregleams of the joy that comes from understanding and trusting Christ.

The Germans, disciplined and silent, arrived at religious services in double file, and gave unwavering, stubborn attention; but they were astonished to find a clergyman who would converse fraternally with them and listen to their objections. Rough objections and passionate, not to say savage, contradictions, followed sentimental outpourings. These men were suffering abominably, far from home, knowing that their native towns were being bombed. And yet with them too there was a feeling of relaxation, and of surprise in discovering sincerity and truth instead of the religious formalism they had known in their childhood. "So," they said, "you are really trying to be Christians—you do believe it is possible?" They had thought it was empty discourse, just words.

One of them, a small man from the Ruhr, came to tell me that he had prayed right along, in silence, that he should be spared the necessity of killing anyone. "I have a wife and two children," he said, showing me the picture of his beloved. "I was willing to be killed, but I prayed not to be obliged to take anyone's life. And God granted my request. I am a prisoner; it is no joke for me. The defeat is terrible for my country, and there will be frightful sufferings for us; but I was able to go through it all without having to kill anyone." Disappointed in the churches, this man had not entered any church for years, but had read the Bible by himself at home.

And this recalls the story of a French peasant returning from the women's camp of Ravensbruck near Berlin. She said to me: "It was forbidden to read the Bible under threat of death; but the German Jehovah's Witnesses who shared our faith always found a way of whispering an encouraging verse to me. They had understood that God was my life. Behind the barracks two or three of us would have mysterious encounters, always being careful because the guard's eyes were upon us. But I lived in prayer with these women of great faith, whose language I could not understand enough to converse with them."

The power of God's love in us, this is what we want to speak about in our FOR meetings, this is what we must cultivate. God never denies his gifts to any who in genuine humility ask for his presence. God's presence in the life of men, that is what brings healing to the purulent wounds of the world.

Thoughts in Prison

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF FIVE IMPRISONED CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The editors have selected for publication the following excerpts from letters in order to reveal some of the thinking that is being done by CO's in prison. All but one of the five writers are members of the FOR. For obvious reasons their names are not used, nor are the prisons identified.

God's Way in Life

"Somehow the presence of God, whose Light I have come further to enjoy, seemed to prevent any permanent harm from befalling my body; which causes me to think that it has been preserved for some future decades (a whole lifetime most likely) of service for the highest purposes. Otherwise the body, as a physical instrument for expressing whatever there may be of God within me, might have been destroyed or damaged. It has withstood being dragged by the hair, forty days of fasting, thermal shock in a shower (one moment chilled, the next moment scalded by hot water over 200 degrees F.), 22 days of tube-feeding via nasal hose and pump (for 9 days the tube remained inside nose and throat for 7 hours each day), two glucose intravenous injections of 1000 cc. each time, a half hour of throat-injuring violence at the hands of an angry hospital guard-attendant, followed by 8 days of undiscovered throat infection (now all cured without drugs), carrying about in arms, wheel-chairs, stretchers, and automobile, and mental violence of various sorts. But the Spirit of God seems to prepare my mind as oil prepares a duck's back against the rain. And now the period of such testing is past, and I am more myself than ever.

"The fast was broken two days ago, and in only 28 hours my body gained 8 pounds and is more peppy each day. . . . I am not telling these things for any purpose of applying pressures of any sort against anyone, or of waging any legal counter-warfare—those days have passed away, I hope for ever. I *know* (experimentally) what the spirit of "nolle contendere" is, and for me it is God's way in life. I have listed the physical experiences above only as an illustration of the "School of Life" I have been attending, and which has given me the rare privilege of discovering how, if God wills, the physical body can withstand whatever is necessary under conditions of testing. . . .

"I *am* happy here, for the Lord seems to have work for me to do here. Realizing this, it has become perfectly proper for me to resume the maintenance of my body in strong working order. All responsibility for my bodily maintenance had been given to the "state," six weeks ago, and evidently the agents of the "state" were not only prevented from killing it, but eventually were moved to feed it by the

best methods they knew, in a successful attempt to keep this body alive. Of course, I know better how to take care of this body than they do. But while it was in their hands, they did the next best job *and succeeded*. . . .

"My fast, of a general character, was simply the expression of my spirit under conditions of confinement, and not a "hunger strike" of protest for any purpose of gain or accomplishment. While I still can't cooperate even 1% with any prison system, this is not any "stand" taken for the purpose of inducing a change of censorship regulations or practice. As for censorship, I simply am not interested . . . My fast was broken when the Lord seemed to require it, not because anything was accomplished. The break-fast occurred in fact two days before Mr. ..... offered to mail this letter, which indicates that no limited or specific purpose was being served.

"My actions do not any longer constitute any "technique" at all, but merely reflect my integrity unto God. . . . I am already on a complete diet of normal composition, with complete physical comfort. I have never felt in better health and composure than now. The return of physical strength amazes me in its rapidity, too. Active 16 hours a day without fatigue, and making good friends here, just as at.....formerly. A bath daily, normal habits of cleanliness, and so on, complete the picture of my resumption of bodily self-maintenance, now that it appears to be God's purpose so to have me do."

Indirect Action

"His most essential message, at least to me, was one of spiritual *in*direct action in solving our problems—putting away our troubled concern and our fever, and thru the Inner Light enveloping those with whom we deal in a spirit of creative love. When we thus take our attention away from the problem itself and become transmitters of Love, a problem that has withstood the most forceful attacks of our wills, our planning, and our cleverest manipulations will often fall away and solve itself. This is, of course, the view of a mystic, but it is logical, too. If human personalities are more important than ideas, it is logical that a sufficiently powerful force of love acting on them can accomplish more than all that cleverness can concoct. . . . Sometimes in this light, it seems to me that indirect action is more effective than direct action. Also it is apt to be far less violent since non-violent direct action often forces a party to act against his will to avoid the consequences of public condemnation or some other pressure."

Progress and Pressure

"Where people are not sensitive to one another's needs nor give due respect to them, people who have to live with one another in an organized society such as ours must make their needs known. In a democratic form of government such as ours, the basis of this interaction is through pressure groups. Anyone knowing how Congress operates and makes laws realizes that our elected representatives are primarily sensitive to their constituency, to articulated public opinion expressed by organized pressure representing sectional, class, or moral interests. Any bill which Congress passes is the result of the needs of a people as expressed by a group who have exerted their pressure on their Congressmen. Social progress is largely brought about by pressure bodies. . . .

"From my point of view it is natural to exert non-violent methods to change our environment. As for coercion, that is something which exists wherever a state of interaction exists. But I am concerned to use non-violent tools of social change. From a sociological point of view one has to make a differentiation between a natural environment and an abnormal environment. This is not a natural environment. It is artificial. The pattern is forcefully imposed. The preconceived notion on which basis the pattern is established is: from an administrative point of view what measures will most conveniently uphold the status quo. If I were in a natural environment, which is a free environment, existing without the tools of compulsion, I would have the choice of complying with either pattern: race segregation or race non-segregation. I would not comply with the attitude expressing white supremacy in a free environment. Why should I here? If I had no choice but to comply to a social pattern which violated my beliefs in a free society, such as riding in a Jim Crow car, I would still have the choice of *not* riding, or leaving the area where those unsocial patterns exist. I have no such choice but forceful compliance here. That is why the analogy of prison environment (which is artificial) to a natural environment is false. I feel some obligation to adapt myself to a natural environment but not to a coercive artificial environment such as prison is."

Constructive Criticism

"Every man, pacifist or otherwise, has a duty to society to criticize that which he believes is detrimental to society. The satisfied man is the enemy of society. The pacifist ought to insist upon correct treatment of himself and others, and the recognition of conscience so that any man will have the right to refuse war without fear or punishment or of jeopardizing his livelihood. Pacifism should be made attractive. My present swell treatment—no hysterical name calling, no monotonous diet, no strip tease, etc., but books, yard exercise period, mail privilege, commissary, regular meals with other inmates, very courteous treatment from public health service attendants—is not due to anything Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes may have written in the *Prison World;* but it is the fruit of those two whom Mr. Barnes accuses of "betraying the cause of pacifism."

False Realism

"I do want to make my personal viewpoint clear. It has evolved from the first abhorrence of techniques and methods used, to the realization that in themselves these are unimportant, that they are simple expressions of power, of a system of absolute authority. Where men are broken, it is not because of any physical deprivations (these are only the tools)—it is because they are under, I might say 'underneath,' a system where they have no 'rights,' only 'privileges,' which depend exclusively on the caprice of myrmidons

or worse. *Without rights* a man cannot keep his self respect, cannot grow. So the real evil—the only one worth taking much energy to eliminate—is the basic framework, the attitude where men are merely *wards* of another man. The basic thing then is to keep men out of institutions, to get them out when they are in, and to eliminate the institution as such.

"So I go from a too immediate, sentimental attitude of reform of injustice, to a basic approach to the problems. I do not by any means imply that one should simply let these things go without some expression, but they should not become the major point of one's effort. . . .

"No one can now judge the effects of one man or group of men maintaining their stand. I can only stick by the principles I believe in, as best I can, and the effects from there on depend on factors that I cannot control. I think that is the most practical and realistic approach. It is the thinking that led me to be a CO in the first place and then to walk out of my camp. The mess that is CPS represents the compromise of principles for the false 'realism' of immediate activity. The appeasement at Munich is a similar disaster of the shortsightedness of 'realism'."

Why Labor Trouble Now?

By GEORGE M. HOUSER*

THE ENDING OF THE WAR has brought a psychological let-down among the American people. The period of the war effort, with its more or less forced unity, has given way to the reconversion period. Now all the latent differences that exist among various sections of the people are in the ascendant. And there is no such thing as a "peace effort" to bridge these differences.

The outward expression of racial tension, for example, has notably increased. A wave of near-riots began to sweep the country in September, and more outbursts can, unfortunately, be expected. The high schools of Youngstown and Cleveland, Gary, Chicago and New York have been the scenes of riots and strikes involving large numbers of students.

But if the let-down following the war has led to sporadic conflict between the races, it has given rise to even more marked conflict between labor and management. Max Danish, editor of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union publication *Justice,* wrote: "American workers since 1942 abstained from striking, primarily through a genuine, deepseated spirit of patriotism in time of national emergency, and in part, owing to the pledged word of their leaders to give up strikes for the duration. This truce has come to an end with the war's end. American labor feels free again to deal with employers directly across the table or, in case of deadlock, to employ its inherent right to cease work."

Extent of Strikes

Newspaper headlines have kept the labor situation in the eyes of the public, but many of them have shown prejudice against labor's cause. The impression has been given that just about all the workers in the land were either out on strike or planning to go on strike. The fact of the matter, according to a report of the Bureau of Labor statistics, is that only six-tenths of one per cent of available working time has been lost because of strikes.

Yet there has been an increase in strikes since the war's end, and it is quite obvious that more strikes, and bigger ones, are to come. During and since September, the papers have played up the Kelsey-Hayes strike in Detroit, where several thousand United Auto Workers were out on a wildcat strike; a strike of the United Mine Workers to get recognition of the supervisor's union; a strike of the elevator workers in New York; a strike of longshoremen affiliated with the AFL in New York; a strike of AFL workers in the movie industry in Hollywood; and a strike of the Oil Workers International until the larger plants were taken over by the Navy on October 4. And now over 300,000 UAW workers in the General Motors plants are out on strike.

Factors in Dispute

The factors that seem most alarming to industrial management, and are providing fuel for anti-labor diatribes by newspaper editors and radio commentators, are the wage demands of the large unions, and the request for the National Labor Relations Board to conduct strike votes under the Smith-Connally Act. The United Auto Workers-CIO have asked for a 30% wage increase from General Motors, Chrysler Corporation and Ford. For almost 100 days General Motors, the first company approached by the union, refused to take negotiations seriously. The best the company could offer was a 10% wage increase and an increase in the work week from 40 to 45 hours. This of course was not satisfactory to the union. Finally the union asked GM to submit to arbitration and allow members of the arbitration board to examine the company's books. The UAW agreed that if this examination should reveal that the company could not pay a 30% wage increase without increasing prices, the union would decrease its demand. When the company stalled in consideration of this offer, the UAW, tired of delay and convinced they would get no place through further dallying, called a strike of its workers in General Motors plants.

The United Steel Workers—CIO have asked for a wage increase of $2 a day. This has been denied by US Steel Corporation, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, Bethlehem Steel, and the other large steel companies. A total of 766 steel, aluminum and iron ore companies employing some 900,000 workers affiliated with the United Steel Workers, have been asked

* Action Projects Secretary of the National FOR, with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio.

for the wage increase. In the recent strike vote conducted by the NLRB approximately 500,000 steel workers cast ballots and an overwhelming majority voted for a strike if necessary. The strike has been called to begin January 14 unless the steel companies are willing to negotiate. In addition to these unions, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America—CIO, and the United Rubber Workers have asked for a strike vote to back up their appeal for a higher wage. The United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees of America—CIO (the union organized in Montgomery, Ward and Co.) has had a strike vote taken, and has put on a demonstration strike of one week's duration to prove its strength. Until recently the Army had control of Montgomery, Ward and Co., but now that the company is back in the hands of Sewell Avery with his anti-union policy, the union members want a contract before they work.

According to a Gallup Poll of October 9, the public takes none too favorable an attitude toward labor. About 74% of those polled indicated that the government should take a strong stand against strikes, and 24% wanted the government to crack down on labor. Another 28% wanted production continued through enforced arbitration and seizure of struck plants. Only 6% of the people wanted the government to help labor.

Are Wage Increases Justified?

Labor has an indisputable case, however, to back up its demand for a 25% to 30% wage increase. The government policy during the war was one of freezing wages by the Little Steel Formula, which meant wages could rise only 15% above the level of January 15, 1941. But while wages were rising a maximum of 15% the cost of living went up somewhere between 30% and 45%.

If the rise in labor's wages during the war did not compare with the increase in the cost of living, the situation has become much more acute since the war. For now not only have cut-backs caused unemployment, but there has been a general reduction in working hours. According to a report put out by the United Steel Workers, take-home pay during the war reached the level of about $50.85 a week for the workers. But this has now dropped to $38.38. This decrease has come about because the work-week has come down from as high as seventy-seven hours per week to forty-eight and forty. All hours worked over forty gave time-and-a-half. So a reduction of eight hours' work from 48 to 40, for instance—actually means a cut of twelve hours' pay. By its wage demands labor is really trying only to maintain its standard of living, not to increase it. A report issued by the OPA in 1943 pointed out that a minimum income for a family of four should be $2,500 a year. Yet 62% of the families of the country were below this. About 35% of the nation's families were below $1,500. So there is no question about the fact that workers are justified in asking for wage increases to keep up with the rising cost of living and to avoid the decrease in take-home pay resulting from reduction in working hours since the war.

After V-J Day the government's announced policy approved all wage increases that would not necessitate price increases. But industry has indicated that prices must inevitably rise if wages are increased.

But can industry pay wage increases without increasing prices? William H. Davis, while he was still Director of Economic Stabilization, said it could be done. Government economists of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion maintained in a report to a Congressional Committee that profits of industry in 1946 would be higher than at present even if wages remained at their April, 1945, level. President Truman in his speech of October 30 declared that wages could be increased without endangering price levels, although he did not indicate how much wages could be raised.

Government Efforts

The steel workers maintain that the steel companies increased their profits by 115% during the five war years. Phillip Murray, president of the union, declared the steel companies would probably make a profit of $474,000,000 in 1946 even after paying a $2.00 a day wage increase. An OPA report indicates that of the 1,910 large firms accounting for a large part of the total business done by corporations, 1,473 of them more than doubled their pre-war earnings during the war.

Thus labor is convinced that industry can pay the wage increase asked for and will stick by its demand. The Labor-Management Conference recently held in Washington failed to deal with fundamental issues. The issues of collective bargaining over the rise in wages demanded by labor, was never touched, except that the conference voted not to consider it. This Conference not only failed to deal with fundamental points of disagreement between labor and management, but also did not produce any suggestions for grappling with basic issues between management and labor as they arise. It was a repeat performance of the labor-management conference called by Wilson after World War I.

Not only is there a show-down on between labor and management, but the government has become involved too. The President, through his request for Congress to pass legislation asking for creation of a fact-finding committee, has precipitated a break with labor. The legislation requested by Truman is a small edition of the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill in that it limits labor's right to strike, and points toward compulsory arbitration. The political consequences of labor's break with the administration cannot be fully seen as yet. But if the present trend should continue, it could lead to the formation of a large third party. Even conservative William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, said words to the effect: "When labor is attacked, it always moves to the left."

Role of Pacifism

Pacifists should have a mighty role to play in the labor movement. This is true not only because the labor movement is a check on the power of big business and is thus essential to the preservation of democracy, but also because increasing conflict lies ahead. It is precisely in such conflict situations that the power of non-violence can best be demonstrated. The tension in labor-management relations should lead pacifists actively into this field. They have no place on the sidelines!

Eyewitnesses Report Observations On Conditions in Germany

From the eyewitness report of two competent observers well known to the editors of FELLOWSHIP we are permitted to excerpt the following passages dated last September. The situation at present in mid-winter is almost certainly worse.—THE EDITORS.

"On our trip from Brussels to Hannover, after having crossed the German border we saw hundreds of lifeless factory chimneys all over the country. And it was not until Witten, outside of Dortmund, that we noticed two or three smoking chimneys. When we asked a German pastor about this, he said, 'You see, the Ruhr is dead now.' It is more dead than anyone outside can imagine.

"What are the people doing in this area? Well, you can see them in the street—almost everyone going up and down, carrying something—a parcel, a bag—and in most cases they have been collecting their rations, or getting some apples, potatoes, or other vegetables from the countryside, even if this is forbidden. A German professor told us, 'In our family of five, two members are kept busy the whole day just seeing that we get our rations, and seeing to collecting wood for the winter. The civilian population will receive just enough fuel, at the most, to provide one hot meal per day.' Another professor told us, 'No real heating will be possible.'

"We asked a famous German pastor, 'Where are the people living among these ruins?' 'Well,' he replied, 'we really don't know; but you can see downstairs there,' and pointed to the place where the next door house had once stood. We saw an archway which had remained standing, below the level of the street. A family of seven had erected a stove with a pipe under this archway, and there they were sitting round a table which had been salvaged, eating their daily rations. This is only one of thousands of similar pictures which can be seen with your own eyes when passing through Germany.

"In most of the industrial centers there are tens of thousands of evacuees and refugees pouring through, coming mostly from the east. Where can they live, when in large towns such as Dortmund more than 70 per cent of the residential quarters have been destroyed and are unfit for habitation? Some figures might give you an idea of the situation. In Hannover the Church authorities have organized a shelter in the central railway station for destitute evacuees, where they can stay at night. Every night there are 1,200 new people seeking refuge in this shelter, and this is, of course, only a very small part of the total number of evacuees passing through such a place as Hannover each night. In this shelter you will find sick prisoners of war returning from Siberia, men who bear a striking resemblance to the pictures you have seen of Buchenwald and Belsen. You will also find evacuees from Danzig and East Prussia, who have been on the move for some time before they can find a place to settle. And how they do move! A young lady minister who had come from the east told us that she had for weeks been moving on just like the others, from village to village, and from town to town, in the Brandenburg area. By questioning some of the people she met, she had discovered that some of them had passed through the same places ten times, in a wide circuit round Berlin. And some are left to die by the roadside, when they have no strength left to enable them to keep on."

Amnesty Conference

Representatives of 19 organizations recently held an all-day conference at Labor Temple, New York, to plan a Campaign for Amnesty for Imprisoned CO's. A. J. Muste presided and the organizations represented gave reports of their activities urging amnesty. Reporting for the Joint Peace Board, Frieda L. Lazarus said that a delegation had seen Attorney General Clark and his assistant, James P. McGranery, early in September to ask for amnesty and free paroles. A reply, promised during October, had not been received at the time of the New York conference. Mrs. Lazarus pointed out that "the President alone can grant amnesty, though Congress could pass a resolution favoring it and the Attorney General could recommend it."

The Conference decided to set up a small working group under the Joint Peace Board, this group in turn to set about at once forming a working committee from the participating organizations. Possible functions of such a committee were tentatively outlined as: writing letters urging amnesty, sending delegations to the President and to other influential people, publication of pertinent information, suggesting material for petitions and for local meetings, picketing, and making contacts with non-affiliated groups who might be interested in securing amnesty for CO's.

Most recent move of the FOR to urge release of CO's was a letter addressed to President Truman by the National Council, in which the President was urged to take action in two situations: (1) proclaim a Christmas Amnesty for imprisoned conscientious objectors; (2) plan for the demobilization of Civilian Public Service immediately, up to the level reached by the Armed Services, to be followed by complete demobilization of these men as promptly as possible. The National Council contended that both these groups had been subjected to discrimination and persecution—those in prison, by not being given "opportunity to receive parole on the same basis as ordinary law offenders"; those in CPS, by being demobilized at the rate of "a bare seven per cent . . . whereas approximately thirty-five per cent of the men in the Armed Services have been discharged."

FOR Annual Conference

FOR staff members, chairmen and secretaries of regional offices have been sent a memorandum from the national office announcing the National Council's decision at the November meeting to return to the pre-war practice of holding one National FOR Conference. The action was taken in response to requests from all parts of the country indicating this preference. The Conference will probably be held on the weekend following Labor Day, 1946, when meeting places large enough to accommodate the group are more likely to be available. The probable location will be somewhere in the Middle West. FOR members, put this date on your calendar and begin planning now to attend the first postwar National FOR Conference.

A.F.S.C. Aids Austria

Child-feeding will be the first step in the American Friends Service Committee's relief undertaking in Austria this winter, according to a statement by Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary. This will be the first American relief to be sent into Austria although UNRRA has been warned of the impending threat of starvation and epidemic disease and urged to send help at once. Six workers will make up the first team sent by the AFSC, the following four having already been appointed: Margaret E. Jones of Moorestown, N. J., now in Europe, and one-time member of the American Consulate staff in Vienna; Mary Forman, social worker formerly with the Cleveland Welfare Federation; George Mathues of Drexel Park, Pa., and Melvin Luersen, CPS #94, Trenton, N. D.

Send For Your Box

In the light of conditions existing in war-ravaged countries, the FELLOWSHIP has decided to make available again this year the coin boxes for our War Victims Fund. FOR members are urged to keep these boxes in a conspicuous place in their homes as constant reminders to share with those who are threatened by starvation and epidemic as a result of war. Write to 2929 Broadway, New York 25, for your box. A stamped return envelope is not required but will be welcomed.

Veterans Seek "Freedom for All"

"All of the people, veterans and non-veterans alike, must know that the ultimate victory will not come until we have built a world with peace and security and freedom for all." Pledged to this ideal, the Veterans League of America merits the attention of FOR members who have friends among the returning service men and women wishing to unite with a veterans organization. Headquarters are at 45 Astor Place, Room 675, New York 3, and A. H. Safir is Administrative Secretary.

VLA was organized after a careful survey of the several new veterans groups as well as those older organizations springing out of previous wars. The following findings of the survey revealed the need for a new organization: (1) ". . . vested interests in their outfits" on the part of the older groups' leaders . . . internal clashes on the basis of policy and principles" would certainly result with the influx of large numbers of new veterans into these organizations. (2) "The older groups do not understand the particular problems of the new veterans . . . With their primary aim, the bonus, achieved, the organizations of veterans of the previous wars have in too many cases become social clubs." (3) "As a whole, the older groups have established a rather poor record insofar as their attitudes toward organized labor and toward racial and religious minorities is concerned. The new veteran is determined to practice and to put into practice the democracy that is so glibly preached."

VLA sent a public statement on conscientious objectors to the American Civil Liberties Union meeting in New York November 25, upholding the rights of individual conscience—though opposed to national will, and urging the release of objectors now in prison and CPS, on a basis consistent with democracy. The statement deplores the fact that these two groups are being discriminated against—CSP men who have made an unselfish and valuable contribution to medical and other scientific work, and the men who are imprisoned "without even the parole rights granted to murderers and burglars."

CPS Food Fund

CPS men are raising a fund of $100,000 from their own group to meet the great need for food in neutral, "enemy," and allied countries. Their committee will distribute pledge cards, on which the signer may indicate the relief agency to which he will send his contribution. The committee will tabulate the information and forward cards to designated agencies but *will not handle the money.* Such an effort on the part of CPS men, most of whom have received almost no remuneration for their services during the war years, should stimulate other groups to action.

E. Stanley Jones Writes on War Causes

"An Adventure in Failure—Behind the Scenes before Pearl Harbor," written by E. Stanley Jones, appears in the December number of *Asia and the Americas* as a special eight-page section. It is a revealing report of Dr. Jones' efforts as "unofficial messenger" between representatives of the governments of Japan and the United States, to find a basis of peace. Dr. Jones declares, ". . . there could have been peace between the United States and Japan. Seldom has history presented so clear-cut an opportunity to prevent the spread of war. Seldom has there been presented so great a chance to right the wrongs of the 'superior' white race against the teeming peoples of the Far East. It was in our power to assist an aggressor nation, Japan, to turn from aggression to co-operation and good will. The opportunity was definitely lost."

In the article Dr. Jones names the following causes of our war with Japan:

(1) Japan's war party, attempting to establish a "New Order in Asia."

(2) The example of Western Imperialism.

(3) Belief that the United States would defend "white empires in the East."

(4) Refusal of Japan's request that the Versailles Treaty declare the equality of races.

(5) "Discrimination against Japan in the United States immigration laws."

(6) Our "step-by-step" entry into the European war.

(7) "The pressure of a war party that surrounded" President Roosevelt.

(8) "The pressure of nations who wanted us to get into war"—Great Britain, China, the Netherlands.

(9) "The giving of an ultimatum to Japan, without opening a door that would make compliance possible."

He concludes: "I lay the heaviest blame on the war party in Japan. But we helped that war party come to power. We could have undercut them before they seized power, and we did not. The responsibility for the Pacific war, then, must rest not on one pair of shoulders but on many, in varying degrees."

Negroes and NVDA

A recent exchange of letters in the Pittsburgh *Courier* indicates, according to Frank Shearer, national chairman of CORE, that Negroes who have served in World War II are encouraging creation of an interracial direct action mass movement to challenge Jim Crow, and that a number of CO's in federal prisons are now ready to join in such a crusade.

The first letter, from a soldier serving in the Philippines, said: "The Negro veteran will be bitterly resentful of his treatment as a second-class citizen when he returns. Having been taught to use force, he will be prone to use force as an answer. (But) violence can never attain our right to complete economic and political freedom, since we are the minority. There is another way—non-violent direct action similar to Gandhi's civil disobedience movement in India. Can Negroes as a composite group successfully develop pacifist methods to combat job discrimination and other forces of evil in our land? The answer is obviously 'yes'. Has he not passively submitted himself to these forces for almost a century? Then why not fight passively against them? . . . Non-violent direct action . . . is our answer if we make it work."

Four CO's imprisoned at Danbury, Conn., Roger W. Axford, Joseph Guinn, Wallace F. Nelson and George Yamada, replied to the letter by declaring themselves to be in "hearty accord with his trenchant remarks" and by calling attention to the non-violent non-cooperative attacks of CO's in prison against Jim Crow.

"How Can We Turn This Tide?" is a new leaflet dealing with non-violent direct action, just published by the Fellowship, and can be obtained (free) by writing to 2929 Broadway, New York 25. It was prepared by Bayard Rustin and is directed especially to Negroes.

CO Fund Is Low

The Fellowship's CO Fund is seriously depleted as the new year opens. This is a matter of great concern to us because it is from this Fund that contributions are made to CO dependents and for such objects as the Campaign for Amnesty for CO's. We ought to be doing our utmost for these causes. If you can help, make remittance payable to Fellowship of Reconciliation and indicate in an accompanying note that it is for the CO Fund.

New Draft Threat

As FELLOWSHIP goes to press, news of an impending danger in the peacetime conscription fight comes to us from Raymond Wilson's Washington office:

The American Legion is urging a substitution of "four months of training, followed by an additional period of service in college or elsewhere," in place of the one-year recommendation of the May Bill (H.R. 515). This indicates a fear on the part of proponents of peacetime conscription that legislation calling for one year of military training is in danger of being lost. In addition, the Legion's four-months plan is certain proof that those who are advocating peacetime conscription are not motivated by a desire to provide adequate military defense for the country but rather by a desire to set up a program

that will develop a military mind in the United States. FOR members, this may be your last chance to work for the defeat of conscription legislation. Do everything you can right now to convince the President, members of the House Military Affairs Committee and your Congressmen that *no form of compulsory military training is wanted in this country.*

Hearings are being continued after the Christmas recess. There are approximately 60 groups opposing peacetime conscription that have not yet been scheduled for a hearing. Twice as much time has been given to the proponents as to the opposition. Write members of the House Military Affairs Committee urging a fair representation for opponents of conscription. Also, write to the Associated Press, the United Press, the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting Company to ask that publicity be given the testimony of the opposition. While much space and time has been devoted to publicizing the case of the proponents, *almost no effort* has been made to let the public know the facts revealed by those who are opposing conscription legislation.

German F.O.R. Plans Expansion

Plans are being made for the re-establishment of the German Fellowship of Reconciliation, according to word from Wilhelm Mensching, and permission is being asked to allow the FOR to function in the British zone of occupation. Grete Sumpf is willing to work as secretary and will probably be located either in Petzen or Pyrmont. Mr. Mensching says that the mayor of Petzen, who is definitely interested in peace, has already sent permission to move there. Four things will be undertaken when Miss Sumpf assumes her duties: (1) answer inquiries from friends already coming in, (2) receive visitors who seek information, (3) circulate monthly reports of the German FOR work, (4) conduct study courses relative to FOR work, particularly for young people. Asta Bruegelmann will try to gather the FOR together in the west, on the Rhine and Ruhr, to plan for its future work. She reports that there is a strong group of students in Hamburg who are interested in working for the FOR. Mr. Mensching is now looking for someone to take up the work in the south of Germany.

Japanese File Citizenship Suits

Suits have been filed by more than 1,000 Japanese-Americans, interned in the Tule Lake center, who renounced their United States citizenship during the war, on the ground that "the renunciations of citizenship were not free acts but were compelled both by governmental duress and by 'fanatically pro-Japanese' groups and individuals whom the government knowingly allowed to carry on a campaign of violence, terrorism and sedition calculated to force loyal American citizens to renounce their citizenship." The suits were filed with full support of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. The Nisei renounced their citizenship "under an unprecedented statute enacted . . . permitting citizens born in the U.S. to renounce citizenship during war time." The group includes many boys and girls between the ages of 18 and 21, minors who were coerced into the action by alien parents who feared deportation and subsequent separation from their children. This statute also threatens tragedy for "our soldiers of Japanese ancestry returning from the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific who have parents, wives, sisters, brothers, or children scheduled for deportation to Japan."

Suits filed by the Nisei "challenge the constitutionality of the statute permitting renunciation of citizenship during wartime, as well as the Alien Enemy Act of 1798 under which the government seeks to deport the renunciants, and which has never been passed upon by the Supreme Court. The law is attacked particularly because it makes no provision for a hearing or even a notice of deportation, and also on the ground that it is not applicable after hostilities have ceased." FOR members can help this group of young people by interpreting the injustice of their situation to acquaintances and by writing to the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

South American F.O.R.

J. Antonio Loureiro, FOR Secretary for South America, is on an extended trip through Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, meeting FOR members in those countries and making many new friends for the Fellowship. Latest news of his trip tells of the organization of FOR groups all along the way and of enthusiastic reception of his message in schools, civic clubs, ministerial associations, the Y.M.C.A., churches, and colleges. Appearing before the Rotary Club of Valparaiso, Mr. Loureiro was introduced as "the pacifist ambassador for the American republics." Because there is such a noticeable atmosphere of suspicion and resentment between Chile and Bolivia, and in a smaller degree in Peru, Mr. Loureiro is seeking to build "Embassies of Good Will" in these countries. Much has been accomplished by establishing a friendly liaison between groups of students in these areas.

Jottings

Christopher Tang, recently returned to China from this country to join the faculty of Nanking Theological Seminary, writes to say that he has attended an FOR meeting there at which time discussion centered around the possibility of inviting Muriel Lester to visit the Orient, and plans for establishing a headquarters of the Fellowship in the Orient.

Up-to-date instructions have been prepared for use in sending parcels to individuals in Europe, Herbert Jehle has announced, and can be obtained by writing Food Parcels Campaign, 117 Lakeview Ave., Cambridge, Mass. Please note the change of address from Boston to Cambridge.

Constance Rumbough has reported that successful anniversary dinners were held in Richmond, Va., Chapel Hill, N. C., Macon, Ga., Berea, Ky., Nashville, Tenn., Tallahassee, Fla., San Antonio, Texas, and Greensboro, N. C. Guest speaker at the Nashville meeting was Fyke Farmer, attorney of that city, who spoke on "Crusading for Total and Universal Abolition of War." Mr. Farmer said that contacts with CO's had awakened his thinking about war and peace, and that he had learned to respect and admire the FOR. He has served as legal advisor to CO's and as a hearings officer.

At the Chapel Hill, N. C., dinner the speaker was President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina.

Margaret Eberhard reported that the Denver group had a good meeting, discussing FOR work in its national and international activities.

Ministers having back issues of *Christendom,* 1939-1945, are urged to send them to the Reverend Herbert C. Lytle, Jr., Commission for World Council Service, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, where they will be gathered into as complete files as possible and sent to clergymen in Europe who have not been able to read the quarterly during the war years.

A church-related school in the Southwest wishes to secure the services of two couples: preferably a Chinese and a Japanese couple, who would be interested in the maintenance work of the school and in living on the campus. Work would include supervision of the students in a co-operative maintenance plan. Write for information.

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th St., Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Eberhard, 440 E. 13th Ave., Denver 3, Colo.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 1850 E. 81st St., Cleveland 3, Ohio; *Middle Atlantic:* James E. Bristol, Room 900, 1831 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Universal Religion

The Perennial Philosophy, by Aldous Huxley. Harper & Bros. 1945. 301 pp. $3.00.

The course of Aldous Huxley is one of the most significant spiritual pilgrimages of our time. Through *Point-Counter Point, Brave New World, Eyeless in Gaza, Ends and Means,* and *Time Must Have a Stop* he brings not only a literary contribution of large volume and excellent quality, but marks a consistant progress toward ultimate spiritual realization. His meaning in this latter sense is the more significant because of his representative characters as a man of his age, who transcends the naturalistic intellectualism of which he was definitely a part, to reach the vantage point of spiritual perception which is at once a criticism of our culture and its promise of redemption.

In *The Perennial Philosophy* Huxley records a distinct departure from the understandable idiom of modern English-speaking intellectuals, most of whom will smile it off as the quiescent escape into mysticism of tired liberalism.

The book is not easy to read or to review. One recalls the remark of Westbrook Pegler on hearing Mortimer Adler, "I fell off at the first curve." For not the idiom only, but the whole conception that knowledge is a function of being and takes its rise from one's union with the Ground of Being, is quite foreign to the modes of thought that prevail in an age preoccupied with material rather than spiritual things, and with time rather than with eternity.

The Perennial Philosophy is the end arrived at by all great religions and philosophies, and the author presents his material as an anthology of expression from Hindu and Buddhist literature, the Christian mystics, and other sources. These are arranged into twenty-seven short chapters and unified with the author's own interpretative comment.

It is not a mere eclecticism that chooses, as Professor Pauck said of a contemporary, "a nickel's worth here, and a quarter's worth there." Rather, Huxley seeks after the ultimate truth which is the common possession of all major faiths and the end-product of all serious religions and philosophies.

This "unitive knowledge of the ground" comes to mean nothing much different from the simple profundity that the way to find life is to lose it, and the way to lose it is not to throw it away on any kind of idealism, but to let it merge into the Ground of all existence, into God. This deliverance from the Self is the basic need of the person, and of the cultural life. "Our Kingdom go," is the necessary corollary of the prayer, "Thy Kingdom come."

The book has perhaps its chief value to the modern reader in the social diagnosis made from the reference point of the Perennial Philosophy. All the decay, disorder, and violence of civilization root from the elevation of self-interest and group-interest into idolatries supplanting the love and knowledge of God. This is the fall of man in terms of pride and a self-love that rivals God. In a sense this fall is part of the Creation itself, inasmuch as the misery attendant upon all sin begins with the differentiation from the unified Ground of being. Implied and indirect, rather than express and direct, is a most trenchant criticism of modern life as the prideful differentiation shows itself in international relations, domestic politics, the economic order, education, and conventional religion. The pacifist will find a deeper basis for his faith in non-violence, as he sees war as one evil manifestation of the principle of self-love above the love of God. Modern preoccupation with the material things of the time-world and a consequent disparagement of spiritual reality has produced the idolatry of technological salvation and the arrogant will which uses technology for a destruction at once suicidal and murderous.

Strangely enough, one could find tangent points of agreement between this philosophy and the source of its severest criticism, the Niebuhrian theology. In regarding sin as pride and the manifestation of self-will; and, further, in seeing this sin as part of creation itself, Huxley presents a human nature almost as bound up in its own contradictions as that presented by Niebuhr. But if there is some tangent agreement at this point, there is an immediate departure, as Huxley dwells on the almost infinite capacity of man for the loss of self in God that will set him free. Here the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Niebuhrian line would dismiss the Perennial Philosophy as romantic and sentimental.

More particularly the criticism would be felt at the point of Huxley's conception of the Ego, which he perhaps too easily identifies with Personality. Huxley sees no redemption *of* Personality, the very existence of which is a corruption, and the only salvation *from* which is in its annihilation. This negation is part of an intense denial of all appearances which leads mysticism to seek unitive knowledge of the God-head through progressive confessions of ignorance. "It is *not* this", and "It is *not* that", becomes the highest approach human thought can make to ultimate reality, and may produce in the end a practical nihilism. This, Niebuhr would say, is Buddhism and not Christianity, and amounts to a denial of responsibility in the relative areas of human experience.

For all this, the book has greatness and an extraordinary significance in that it dares to concern itself primarily with spiritual contemplation in an historic period that regards spirit as synonymous with unreality, and shuns contemplation in the interest of self-centered activity.

—George M. Gibson.

Universal Politics

The Anatomy of Peace, by Emery Reeves. Harper and Brothers, New York. 1945. 275 pp. $2.00.

The insistent theme of this passionate and persuasive little book, which I regard as a "must" for every pacifist, is that "the problem of peace in our time is the establishment of a legal order to regulate relations among men, beyond and above the nation-states. This requires transferring parts of the sovereign authority of the existing warring national institutions to universal institutions. . . ." The alternative is destruction of all such institutions, as we know them, in world chaos.

This is not a new theme—but many of the analyses by which the author supports it are refreshing and surprising in their novelty. For he challenges at significant points practically every proposal for world peace and justice which has been advanced in recent decades. The common fallacy of all of these, he insists, is that they have contributed, intentionally or unintentionally, to the modern fixation of national sovereignty, when social maturity requires universal political institutions and laws. As a result, we solve economic, social, and political conflicts within our nation-states by law and government, we can solve such conflicts between nation-states only by "policy" and "diplomacy."

Within such a world all roads lead to war: Capitalism, despite its ideal of free enterprise, because it is compelled to erect barriers between states in the form of tariffs and restrictions on trade, which create and maintain conflict situations. Socialism, contrary to its internationalist creed, because the necessity for achieving and maintaining national existence betrays its universalist hopes and brings its own state into conflict with others. Religion, because even monotheistic faith succeeds only in establishing state churches, or at least churches which, in an international crisis, always demonstrate that their first loyalty is to their own state. Internationalism, whether of the League of Nations or the United Nations, because it always assumes the continued existence of sovereign nations, which retain "veto" rights in all matters concerning it. And so on.

Does this mean we must have a "super-state." Unquestionably. It does not mean that such a state will possess all sovereignty, but only such authority as is delegated to it by free peoples.

The challenge of this essay to religious pacifists and the moral fervor of its author may well close this brief notice: "Human society can be saved only by universalism. Unless the Christian churches return to this central doctrine of their religion and make it the central doctrine of their practice, they will vanish before the irresistible power of a new religion of universalism, which is bound to arise from the ruin and suffering caused by the impending collapse of the era of nationalism."

—Walter W. Sykes.

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